

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 PEKING 01843 151304Z

53

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 121652

O 151200Z SEP 76 ZFF-4
FM USLO PEKING
TO USDEL SECRETARY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6378

S E C R E T PEKING 1843

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR GATES

E.O.11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A) PFOR, CH
SUBJECT: ASSESSMENT OF SCHLESINGER VISIT

REFS: A) SECTO 27052, B) PEKING 1761, C) PEKING 1776
D) PEKING 1782, E) PEKING 1800

1. BEGIN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. THERE FOLLOWS MY
PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF THE SCHLESINGER VISIT (REF A) BASED ON
MY PRIVATE ONE-HOUR TALK WITH HIM AT USLO SEPTEMBER 14 (HE
CALLED ON ME AT HIS INITIATIVE) AND OUR EARLIER REPORTING ON HIS
ACTIVITIES IN PEKING. AFTER MAO'S DEATH THE PARAMOUNT OBJECTIVES
IN CHINESE HANDLING OF SCHLESINGER BECAME:

--TO DEMONSTRATE FOREIGN POLICY CONTINUITY. REINSTATEMENT OF
SCHLESINGER'S PROVINCIAL TRIP, INCLUDING THE EXCURSION TO THE SINO-
SOVIET FRONTIER, HIGHLIGHTS CONTINUED CHINESE ADHERENCE TO
"CHAIRMAN MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY LINE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS" WITH ITS
ANTI-SOVIET TILT.

--TO REPUDIATE IMPLICITLY SPECULATION THAT MAO'S DEATH WOULD
PROVE DESTABILIZING.

REGARDLESS OF WHAT WE MAY
OTHERWISE FEEL ABOUT CHINESE HANDLING OF SCHLESINGER, THE POLICY
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 PEKING 01843 151304Z

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S. ARE GENERALLY POSITIVE.

EXCLUSION OF USLO FROM THE TALKS SEEMED TO ACCORD WITH SCHLESINGER'S OWN PREFERENCE. CHINESE FAILURE TO INCLUDE USLO IN CHIAO'S WELCOMING BANQUET IS ODD, BUT WE DO NOT YET HAVE ALL THE FACTS THAT PERTAIN. AS FOR SCHLESINGER'S FUNERAL ROLE, WE DO NOT SHARE VIEW OF SOME IN HIS PARTY THAT CHINESE MEANT THIS AS SNUB DIRECTED AT USG.

2. I WOULD EMPHASIZE THAT THE POTENTIALLY MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS-- BOTH SYMBOLIC AND SUBSTANTIVE--OF HIS VISIT ARE YET TO COME: HIS EXCURSION TO THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER AND HIS PROMISED SESSIONS WITH RANKING CHINESE LEADERS INCLUDING PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG. I SHALL SUBMIT A FINAL ASSESSMENT AFTER SCHLESINGER'S DEPARTURE FROM PEKING, PLANNED FOR SEPTEMBER 29. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

3. CHINESE DISPLAY EXTRAORDINARY ESTEEM FOR SCHLESINGER. FROM CONDUCT OF PRELIMINARY TRIP ARRANGEMENTS IN THE U.S. TO REINSTATEMENT OF THE TRIP FOLLOWING MAO'S FUNERAL, THE CHINESE HAVE MISSED NO OPPORTUNITY TO CONVEY THEIR HIGH ESTEEM FOR SCHLESINGER:

--THEY CONFIRMED HIS ITINERARY PRIOR TO HIS DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE, AN UNPRECEDENTED BREAK WITH CUSTOMARY CHINESE NEGOTIATING PRACTICE WITH SUCH GROUPS. (SCHLESINGER'S INTER-MEDIARIES WITH THE CHINESE HAD STRESSED THAT PRIOR APPROVAL WAS THE SINE QUA NON OF SCHLESINGER'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE INVITATION.)

--THEY INCLUDED ON THE ITINERARY SENSITIVE AREAS OFTEN REQUEST BUT NEVER PREVIOUSLY GRANTED TO AMERICANS (LHASA, INING, JUHOHAOTE).

--THEY ARRANGED UNUSUALLY HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS, ALLOCATING TO SCHLESINGER TWO AFTERNOONS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO (ONE IS THE NORM) AND PLANNING, BEFORE MAO'S DEATH INTERVENED, SESSIONS WITH DEFENSE MINISTER YEH CHIEN-YING AND PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG.

--MEMBERS OF THE PARTY TOLD US THAT FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT OF MAO'S DEATH, FOREIGN MINISTRY AMERICAS AND OCEANIAS DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR LIN PING CONFIDED TO SCHLESINGER THAT CHAIRMAN MAO HAD SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 PEKING 01843 151304Z

PERSONALLY ORDERED AN INVITATION EXTENDED TO HINBIN 1974. LIN ADDED THAT MAO WAS INFORMED BEFORE HIS DEATH OF SCHLESINGER'S PRESENCE IN CHINA.

--AFTER CANCELLING THE TOUR AND REMAINING MEETINGS IN PEKING UPON WORD THAT MAO HAD DIED, THE CHINESE REVERSED THEMSELVES, REINSTATED THE WHOLE PROVINCIAL PROGRAM AND HINTED STRONGLY THAT SCHLESINGER ON HIS RETURN TO PEKING WOULD MEET WITH

PREMIER HUA AND EITHER DEFENSE MINISTER YEH OR POLITBURO
STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBER CHANG CHUN-CHIAO.

4. ON HIS FIRST EVENING IN PEKING SCHLESINGER ASKED THE
ACTING CHIEF FOR USLO'S ASSESSMENT OF CHINESE MOTIVES AND
EXPECTATIONS FOR HIS VISIT. WE BELIEVE THAT THE RATIONALE IS SELF-
EVIDENT: THE CHINESE POSITION ON U.S.-SOVIET DETENTE PARALLELS
SCHLESINGER'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND WELL-KNOWN PRIVATE VIEWS ON
THE ISSUE. THAT THESE VIEWS WOULD BE AIRED TO CHINESE AND WORLD
AUDIENCES WAS A REASONABLE
EXPECTATION; THE POTENT COMBINATION OF HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS, A NOVEL
EXCURSION TO TIBET AND TO THE SINO-SOVIET FRONTIER, AND A CORPS
OF ACCOMPANYING JOURNALISTS GUARANTEED HEAVY MEDIA PLAY IN THE
U.S. AND MANY OTHER COUNTRIES. IN THIS SENSE THE CHINESE CAST
SCHLESINGER IN THE FAMILIAR ROLE (E.G. THE FRG'S STRAUSS AND
FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON) OF PRESTIGIOUS OPPOSITION STATESMAN WHO
SHARES A KEY PART OF THE CHINESE WORLDVIEW.

5. WHETHER THE CHINESE SEEK MERELY TO GAIN ATTENTION FOR THEIR
VIEWS, TO INFLUENCE AMERICAN ELECTION-YEAR POLITICS, OR TO
REGISTER SOME GENERAL DISENCHANTMENT WITH CURRENT ADMINISTRATION
FOREIGN POLICIES IS CONJECTURAL. ALL PROBABLY ENTERED INTO INITIAL
CHINESE CALCULATIONS TO SOME DEGREE. (POST-MAO CONSIDERATION
ARE NOTED IN MY SUMMARY ABOVE.)

6. THE EXCLUSION OF USLO. USLO'S ONLY FORMAL ROLE IN THE
SCHLESINGER VISIT HAS BEEN ATTENDANCE BY THE ACTING CHIEF AT
A NOON-HOUR WELCOMING BANQUET THE FIRST DAY GIVEN BY THE
NOMINAL HOSTS, CHINESE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.
ACCORDING TO ONE MEMBER OF THE PARTY, THE CHINESE SAID THEY
DID NOT PLAN TO INVITE ACTING CHIEF TO CHIAO'S BANQUET THAT EVENING
OWING TO THE BANQUET'S ALLEGED "SPECIAL NATURE." WE DOUBT THAT THE
VISITORS URGED RECONSIDERATION. USLO WAS NOT INVITED TO SEND
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 PEKING 01843 151304Z

A REPRESENTATIVE TO THE SUBSTANTIVE MEETINGS. WE DO
NOT KNOW WHEN AND HOW EITHER DECISION WAS REACHED. BUT WE
IMAGINE THAT THE CHINESE WELCOMED AND NURTURED SUPPOSITION ON
THE PART OF SCHLESINGER AND SOME MEMBERS OF HIS PARTY THAT THESE
OCCASIONS WERE LIKELY TO BE MORE CANDID AND PRODUCTIVE SANS USG
OFFICIALS.

7. THE SCHLESINGER DELEGATION AND FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS. WE
ARE DISINCLINED TO ATTACH MUCH IMPORTANCE TO SCHLESINGER'S
PLACE AMONG FOREIGNERS PAYING LAST RESPECTS TO MAO.

--NCNA LISTS THE SCHLESINGER GROUP AMONG OTHER "FOREIGN FRIENDS"
INCLUDING AN ALBANIAN METALLURGICAL GROUP, THE PAKISTAN FOREIGN
SECRETARY, A VENEZUELAN CULTURAL GROUP, AND ATHLETES FROM JAPAN,
TANZANIA, AND EGYPT.

--SCHLESINGER IS LISTED LAST BY NCNA AMONG FOREIGNERS SENDING
MEMORIAL WREATHS, BEHIND THE VENEZUELAN CULTURAL GROUP,
JAPANESE PEASANTS, AND SHIRLEY AND DAVID DUBOIS.

ON BALANCE, THE FACT THAT SCHLESINGER SHOOK HANDS WITH PREMIER
HUA, VICE CHAIRMAN WANG HUNG-WEN, ET AL. AT THE CEREMONIES
SEEMS THE PRODUCT OF AN OVERALL FUNERAL PLAN FOR DEALING WITH
DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF FOREIGNERS. USLO WAS IN THE SAME CATEGORY AS
WESTERN AND JAPANESE EMBASSIES.

8. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE CHINESE WILL RAISE THE
TAIWAN ISSUE WITH SCHLESINGER. SCHLESINGER CONFIRMED TO ME THAT FOREI
GN
MINISTER CHIAO SKIMMED OVER IT IN PERFUNCTORY FASHION.
GATES

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976PEKING01843
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760348-0006
From: PEKING
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760958/aaaabxjm.tel
Line Count: 185
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 76 SECTO 27052, 76 PEKING 1761, 76 PEKING 1776
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 MAY 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <20 SEP 2004 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ASSESSMENT OF SCHLESINGER VISIT
TAGS: OVIP, PFOR, CH, US, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (SCHLESINGER, JAMES)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006